2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764

765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

754
756 /147 cont./
731 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
[825] father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
[176] the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
●763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree; with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few
752 drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root, Araticu; for snake bite the herb called urururu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

000 These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use; I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

• 763 When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

[Text Continues on P. 393]

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578 627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her 764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/301 cont./

799 199 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797 177

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

Cc 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, Ee [775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Cc 764 Cce [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 823

C
821 /295 cont./ The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C
821
177 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ce
821
784 When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more
[763] realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ce
821
[789] /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[825] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
[784] Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[484] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.
773 The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
•763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead
[775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary
[515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the
[934] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with
[171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the
[323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Knickenberg (1), p. 130.
[2] [illegible] (2).